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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

17 December 1948

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO. 77/Supplement

SUBJECT: Possibility of a Soviet proposal for quadripartite troop withdrawal from Germany.

1. In Intelligence Memorandum No. 77 it was estimated that the USSR might propose quadripartite troop withdrawal from Germany, in the belief that such a proposal would be rejected by the Western Powers. We are now asked to estimate the possibility of such a proposal under the assumption that the USSR might expect its acceptance by the West and is prepared for its implementation.

2. Under conditions prevailing at the present time such a proposal would be made only upon a Soviet estimate that (a) chaos would probably ensue in which trained Communist and Soviet agents could gain control of all of Germany, and (b) the advantage to the USSR of securing the withdrawal of Western forces from Germany justified the resulting risks to German communism. Because the USSR is, however, probably aware that pro-Western German elements would win out, even in the Eastern zone, it is estimated that the Soviets will not make such a proposal at the present time.

3. It is estimated that once the USSR has established in Eastern Germany a Communist-dominated government capable of maintaining itself in the absence of Soviet forces, the Kremlin may propose a quadripartite troop withdrawal regardless of prospects for Communist expansion into Western Germany. It is estimated that such a government cannot be established before mid-1949.

4. After the establishment of the aforesaid government, whenever conditions in Western Germany are such as to persuade the Kremlin that the withdrawal of occupation forces would substantially contribute to the expansion of Communist control throughout all of Germany, it is estimated that the Kremlin will make the proposal.

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